/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [293] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [43] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/47 cont'd/

585 came forward to greet them. They then alternately walked and sang, and the umbrella carriers also sang in response to them. They all stopped walking while singing. In the intervals between singing they proceeded ahead for a few steps, then stopped and sang again. This process had been repeated four times before they reached a small house adjacent to the bride's home. /48/ While this wedding march was in process, the boys and girls looking on also had a good deal of fun. Some of them had encircled the go-between who walked at the head, asking for tobacco leaves; others—mostly girls—closely hemmed in the bridegroom, making fun of him, teasing him, striking him with their hands, or kicking him with their feet; some of them suddenly took away his kerchief and put a battered bamboo rain hat on his head. The bridegroom, however, remained like a wooden dummy without daring to move. Fortunately, he was protected by his male escorts, otherwise, he might have been torn apart.

After the bridegroom's party had reached the small house, the first part of the wedding ceremony was over: The small house had been previously rented /by the bride's family/ for 200 cash, but the owner of the house had to entertain the bridegroom and his escorts with a dinner of chicken and wine, costing more than the rent he received. Having finished their dinner in the small house, the go-betweens and the gift carrier, holding betel nuts in their hands (or using tobacco leaves as a substitute), went to the bride's house where their counterparts were ready waiting for them. There was a dinner with wine prepared on the table in one of the side rooms, and some friends and relatives of the bride's family had been invited to sit there to await the arrival of the bridegroom's party. The go-betweens walked up to the girl's house but stopped outside the door. Only one man was sent in to get admission from the guests at the feast. After awhile he returned and led the others into the room. After they were seated facing the guests invited by the bride's family, they drank toasts to each other. Then both sides sang back and forth. The singer from the bridegroom's family was the umbrella holder; that of the bride's party was one of the guests previously

/48 cont'd/
585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[703] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors, sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

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/50 cont'd/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bridegroom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.

585 608 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations. After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the ch'ü-hsi type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the chao-chui type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /51/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called toon

/51 cont'd/
585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[767] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/77 cont'd/

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The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated. —Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

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(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are shown in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an. /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/78 cont'd/

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But they are now judged to be yüan-yang on this earth.
Now they are going back to the House of Yüan-yang.
To sit and decide whereto they should fly together.
/Two lines omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The Dipper and its seven stars together give them judgment;
The Southern Dipper and its six stars will fly with them,
To go and visit the chuang-yüan /In China the leading graduate of the Hanlin Academy/—and with much eloquence on their lips.
The book with tzu-wei /name of a constellation?/ will record all this.
/Song II omitted because of obscurity in meaning.—Tr./

/79/III. Tonight we have the mighty dragons as our guests.
We have no golden tables and polished chairs for them to sit on.
Chairs made of white wood will have to do for the officials to sit on.
They will have to sit here before bare tables.
See the officials have arrived!
See the officials come in through the door!
See the officials, so witty, sit at the tables!
We have no golden tables nor polished chairs for them.
Good water from the well!
The water from the well flows clear and clean in all directions:
One flows down the green-silk hall,
And the other flows down the tower of the Noble Gate.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the dragons face to face.
We are poor people and we have nothing to offer;
We have to serve cold water as tea for the mighty dragons.
We are a humble family;
We are poor and miserable and have nothing good to eat.
As for a drink, we have neither tea nor wine.
Don't let us offend the honored ones.

/79 cont'd/

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If the wine is not good,
If is like offering well water to officials.
Cold water is offered to the noble officials to drink.
One cup will make the officials feel good.
This is a humble family without golden wine cups.
White stones placed in a line on the table will be the cups;
White stones as cups are not right—
They will not look in line, no matter how you put them on the table.
/80/ We have no golden wine cups; we have only earthenware.
Nor have we golden tables or polished chairs for you.
The officials have red sedans with polished chairs.
We are poor and miserable and cannot afford all this.
We offer drinks to the noble officials with our hands.
After one cup, they will feel good.
We know you honorable ones are disgusted with the taste of our wine;
We know you are disgusted with our rough hands.
You are grumbling because we cannot afford to offer big baked cakes.
Grape myrtle /?/ and green vegetables are placed on the table.
" " " " " " " " "
Plain vegetables on the table are tasteless—even with salt.
We are miserable!
We think of whatever we can do—our humble hearts are good. /?/
The kindness of the dragon's heart is shown more than when he is in his palace;
It is our rare honor to have them come to our feast.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the tigers face to face.
On these big, bare tables we can offer nothing.
It is like the eastern sea cutting off the sandy net. /?/
We cannot give the honored ones everything.
Ashamed that our lowly family has not yet established a house—

/80 cont'd/

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Without tables, without chairs, we are not yet established,
Without bowls and without plates, there is nothing we can put on the tables in lines or rows.
Rice is served!
We offer rice to the honorable officials with our humble hands.
/81/ The honorable ones who have come here have no chairs to sit on,
Like swallows sitting on a crossbeam,
And falling on the ground, the noble ones get hurt.
Their clothes are torn, making them feel bad.
Our family is poor and has no golden chopsticks.
Green bamboo and polished chopsticks we offer to the officials to hold.
Red sedans and golden chopsticks are in Kwangtung—
They are too rare to fall into our hands.
The honorable and witty officials have come from a long distance,
And sit here now as if before bare tables.
Before bare tables, with no wine to drink,
Your hearts are becoming unfriendly.
In the hall five tables /...obscure/ are used up,
Like six pairs of drakes and ducks joined together.
In the hall a group of stars are now sitting at the tables,
...to wish fortune to the family.
When one goes into the woods to cut some bamboo, one stirs the trees.
When one goes down to the water to draw out the fish nets, one arouses the dragon.
First, may our landlords' houses have riches and honor,
May strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed.
May all our landlords enjoy long life,
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu*.

/* The Methuselah of China./

/81 cont'd/

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Second, may our masters seek to become immortals.
Once one cultivates Buddhist immortality, it will lead to becoming chuang-yüan /highest graduate of the Hanlin Academy/.
A chuang-yüan's virtue is seen seeking the way to immortality.
And each man will be seen as naturally intelligent.
Third, may our masters' houses be favored with riches and honor,
May their stalls be full of livestock: pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses;
And when they are released from the stalls,
May no eagles, birds, or big snakes dare to touch them. /82/
Fourth, may our masters have long lives,
Long lives like P'eng Tsu's.
P'eng Tsu, many years; our masters, many years!
P'eng Tsu, many springs; our masters, many springs!
Fifth, when our masters sow their seeds,
May the crops grow and multiply five-fold.
Flourishing so that every year nine granaries of grain will be harvested.
Sixth, as our masters pass on the mountain roads,
And arrive at the yellow mountain,
May the mountain horses and yellow deer reach it,
Climbing with all four feet without faltering.
Seventh, when our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets;
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
Eighth, may our masters enjoy long life—
Lives as long as green silk stretching over a hundred thousand feet long;
May you talk with eloquence to the judge in the other world,
So that no sickness nor evil spirits will dare to befall your families.

/82 cont'd/

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Ninth, may our masters' work in burning be successful,
So that each /?/ year light will appear at the shrines,
And fields will be bright without ploughing,
And your sons will grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
Tenth, may all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans
May the high families before us be endlessly blessed,
So that we small stars facing them will not know how to act, /83/
And bamboos and firecrackers break forth the good tidings to old and young.
/This next line is obscure./
Eleventh, may our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
Twelfth, may you rise to a new office as a distinguished official of the highest degree,
With five boys and five girls lined up before you,
With your pigs producing dragons and your hens producing phoenixes,
With people, tens of thousands of them, under your office.
Three steps forward, three steps backward;
Three steps backward, the wedding will be over.
Two young branches with pure thoughts
Pray that you go up to the ... tables
That all the stars will be seated
And hasten to eat and drink tea.
With hands on our breasts we thank the distinguished ones.
All the stars are now leaving to have a walk outside.
Strolling in a line, two in a row.
We have great feeling for you at the moment you pass by here.

/83 cont'd/

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IV. All the various officials have been wandering about looking
for the moon.
We have found the moon.
We have had the luck to receive their honorable favor.
When first we were summoned,
It was somewhat like the eastern capital summoning us to
the moon.
This is a wedding matched by the six points.
Coming into this flower place, we look around,
And hope the son of heaven /the hosts/ will guide our steps.
We come into the autumn (...) bamboo tree mountain,
We come into the Tower of the Noble Gate,
/84/ The Tower of the Noble Gate is so well furnished.
Polished chairs line up on the four sides.
Our hosts offers us the best white rice—
Placed on the table, its fragrance spreads over the whole
feast.
Even before eating it, one feels good in the heart.
Our honorable host's family has riches and honor.
Gold bowls and silver cups confront us.
This is like the occasion in the palace of the Jade Emperor
at Peking.
Dragons and phoenixes in lines and rows shining all over
the sky.
Our hosts offer us the best golden chopsticks—
Their ends and tips are coated with gold,
Glittering and brightening all the corners of the hall.
Our hosts' house has riches and honor.
The bright table in front shines up toward the sky.
This is like the city river at I-fu,
With dragons and phoenixes in rows and lines reddening the
four sides with brightness.
Our hosts have everything, thousands and tens of thousands.
Gold wine cups are placed in lines on the feast tables,
This is like the dazzling stars appearing in the sky.

/84 cont'd/

539 585 Wine placed in them gives off a bouquet reaching the sky.
Our hosts have the best of wine and rice;
Placed on the feast tables, its fragrance reaches everywhere—
Its fragrance reaches a distance of four li,
It can be compared to the dragon's liver....
For two years they prepared for the southern stars.
Our hosts, honorable and rich, sit by the line of tables,
Offering us rice and drink out of golden bowls.
All the stars feel good after drinking so much. /85/
/Two lines omitted here because of omissions in the text./
Golden vases are placed at the line of tables,
In rows and pairs to match the heavenly stars.
Our host has many riches and much honor
The bouquet of the jade wine and the gold cups spreads over the whole feast
Having drunk it this year is an immense pleasure.
The bouquet will grace our mouths for sixty years.
To travel by horseback to the drake and duck
Is like receiving the courtesy and hospitality of a Literary Chancellor:
We very much hope that the honorable ones will guide us in our manners,
And lead us around the four corners with open hands.
The Southern Dipper and the Six Ranks all appear here.
All have come to pay a visit at the Hall of the Son of Heaven.
Officials have come on foot to visit the learned ones;
We have come from a distance for the wedding.
Letting loose the horses and holding a pearl, we enter the hall.
When the new officials are published before the emperor,
On the list will be clearly listed all of you,
To be entered and commented on forever.
We very much hope all the stars /hosts/ will guide us in our manners,

/85 cont'd/

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Like the bright moon guiding the stars in roaming around.
Endless words and phrases cannot be exhausted to express our feelings,
For getting the stars back in the mazy river /of heaven/.
If so many high and wise ones will condescend to hear us:
We draw our hands to give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
We all give our wishes for the coming winter and the four seasons.
May sickness and evil spirits dare not come to your house,
/86/ And every season of each year may safely befall you,
And may you have lives as long as green silk stretching over ten thousand feet long.
May riches and honor come to our landlords,
And strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed,
Precious things in gold caskets at the head of the bed.
And may silken cloth and satin embroideries fill the whole hall.
Moreover, riches and honor to our landlords,
Riches and honor greater than Shih Tsung's,
And may our landlords have everything that can be had,
And for ten thousand years may they be known as wise.
Moreover, may our masters seek to become immortals.
In the other world the chuang yüan /the highest graduate/ will be at peace in the former heaven /Taoist term for previous existence/.
The T'ien Shih /"heavenly teacher," a term for the head of the Taoist sect/ will mark this on his golden list.
Divine powers will carry the spirit to the Jade Palace.
Riches and honor to our masters' house.
May herds of cows and horses multiply in all the stalls.
When they are released from the stalls to go outdoors,
May no eagles, birds, and great snakes dare to touch them.
Long life to our masters—
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu, who lived so long.

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and
585 guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/
another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony. When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible. —Tr./

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers
585 assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/140 cont'd/

587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

585 574 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

/141 cont'd/

585 574 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 582 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old 755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/143 cont'd/

872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 171 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely enervated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
[574] double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck-rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[71] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
[837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must entertain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered
[214] the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

●585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
977 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom. [301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's 585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [756] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the [782] ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow- [787] tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and [556] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At 585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense 782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine. [75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

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The bride arriving here brings
Great luck and great prosperity.
The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become
a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family,
she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated
hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go
back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to wel-
come her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the
Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " " female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
[264] groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[756] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
[756] and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and 574 nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain 585

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

The young people are married at seventeen or eighteen, and it seems to make no difference whether the young couple live with the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or set up housekeeping in their own home. The wedding is usually held at the groom's home, two or three young girls and a young man or two from his village going for the bride and escorting her back. The bride wears no distinctive dress except a peculiar headdress under her kerchief, and an embroidered girdle of undyed cloth. She also carries two small towels of this same material thrown over her shoulders, and one to cover her face. According to their custom, the bride and groom sit on the same bench and eat and drink together, and then declare their allegiance to the family by serving tea to the parents or in some other simple way.

The Miao in their heathen state apparently worshipped any and all gods in an effort to appease them but with little definite idea or set ritual. Idols do not seem to be in evidence in their houses, and being a roving people, they have no temples. They have within the last few years become interested in the Gospel and whole villages have become Christian, much as has been the case in the mass movement, so-called, in India. They are a simple people, highly emotional and temperamentally religious, which is often true of hill peoples. Thus certain emotional phases of religion immediately become paramount in their eyes, and without careful teaching they are liable to be led astray on these points.

The Miao have no written language of their own, but pick up Chinese character with amazing rapidity. The Christian villages each put up a chapel at their own expense, meet every morning for prayer before they go to their work, and every evening for a short service and an hour or so of study. When a Chinese evangelist or a missionary comes to the village, they study until midnight, when they are sent home in self-defence by the teachers—and at 2 a.m. they are up pounding rice, so that we wonder when they sleep. They are a wonderfully interesting people, these "Children of the Forest," as they style themselves, and it is a rare privilege to be among them and come to know them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Misc Art

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wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

The costume in which two old ladies were laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way.
534 Among other Miao this was courting music,
584 accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 Betrothal. Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 Wedding (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

On the day after the groom's arrival the bride and her attendants spent much time getting dressed. The longest part of the time was consumed in the arrangement of the turban, done by women of a closely related household. Meanwhile a feast was being prepared by men and women of the bride's family. It was served as soon as the girls — in one case seven, in the other nine — were ready. Indeed, they were urged to hurry up, as it was getting late. Tables were set in the court before the house. There the bride and her attendants sat at the first two tables and other women guests at the others. The groom and his attendants ate around one of the floor fires in the main room of the house. At one feast I attended, in addition to wine and rice, the dishes served were of various vegetables in season with pork, glutinous rice with sugar syrup, strips of very fat fresh roast pork, chicken, pork alone, fresh and dried bean curd.

While they were eating the loads of food and clothing were being prepared. The bride and her attendants got up from the table to supervise this. In one case the food consisted of a quarter of beef and a bushel of rice, in another of a large piece of pork, a bushel of rice, a jar of wine, and some cured meat. When they started out a woman from the bride's family ran after them and cut off a piece of the meat, which she brought back, laughing. The procession followed a definite order: the groom and his attendants, the men bearing the food, the men bearing the baskets containing the girls' everyday clothing and umbrellas, the bride and her attendants, all in single file. It was a gay and colorful one.

After the girls left the guests remained at the bride's home, feasting and drinking wine until they got quite happy and noisy. The object in drinking wine was partly to induce this happy state. Once when a visitor from Yang-niu-ts'un was in Yang-chia-sai I was invited with her to several houses in turn for a good meal. It was not considered necessary to eat much at every house, but the visitor, a very jolly woman, said I should have drunk more so that I could talk more.

[8] Literally, "drink wine," another pronunciation of *Tso chia*.

[9] This means a setting up the new household.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household. 585

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she returned at once to her parents' home, where she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home, during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] —a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing. 591 852 593

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.
[5] The first month feast—The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

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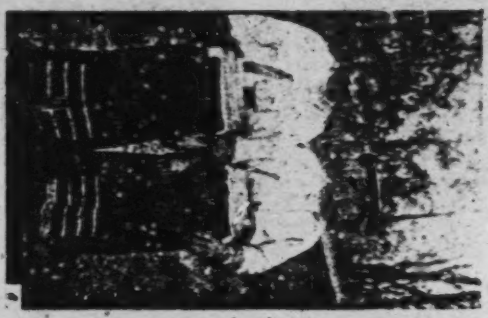

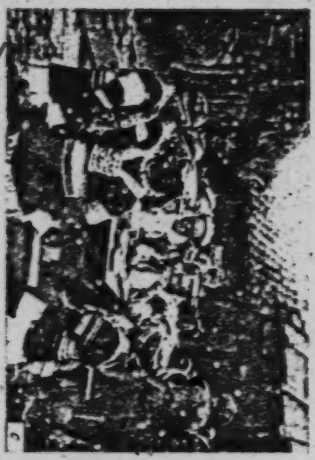

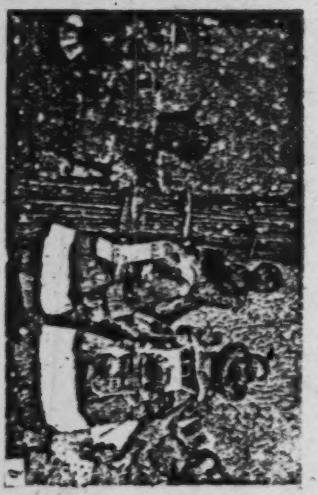

[For captions, see p. 93b. -- Analyst]

A-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

a, d, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are used only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c, e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at least at her home, showing the special turban and ceremonial dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911. AE5 Miao AE5

584 had repaid the money the husband's family had expended on the marriage, she married again, and now seems settled and contented with her husband and two or three children. Another woman we know was betrothed when a girl to a man who left home for awhile, and while he was away her parents married her to another. When the man to whom she had been betrothed came back and claimed her, the man who had married her gave her up, and she became the wife of the other. We know another young woman, not yet thirty, who is subject to epileptic fits, who has been married half-a-dozen, perhaps a dozen, times. When her new husband discovers she is subject to these fits, he sends her home again and does not want her.

585 After a marriage has been arranged, a day is fixed for the receiving of the bride. The kinsfolk and friends of both parties are invited, a room is cleared out—sometimes it is the cow-house, which is really a part of the dwelling-house—and seats put all round against the wall for the guests. The guests all make presents to the bridegroom's family—rice, or jars of whisky, and sometimes silver. These contributions to their host considerably diminish the cost of the marriage feast. The bride, who walks from her

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

parents' home, escorted by her girl friends all dressed in their best and wearing their silver ornaments, generally arrives during the afternoon. 585

Among the Hua Miao, after the evening meal, the bride and one of her companions lay aside their fine clothes, and, taking a tub half full of water, wash the feet of all the guests, beginning with the men. When this is done they all settle themselves for a night of whisky-drinking and song-singing. The guests sing the virtue of their host, praising the kindly way he has received them and the rich food provided for their entertainment. Then the host, or some one on his behalf, replies also in song, belittling the host and grieving over the contemptible style in which the guests have been treated. The legends of the tribe are also chanted one after another; sometimes one voice leading and the others joining in a sort of chorus; sometimes one party singing interrogatively and another party singing responsively. The feasting, singing, and noise go on for three days and nights, at the end of which time the guests depart and the bride, with her companions, returns to her parents' home. Sometimes the bride stays more than three days at the home of her husband.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

585 The return of the bride to her parents' home is also somewhat of a festive occasion. I shall here copy some lines from my wife's diary, which describes the return of a bride among the Heh-Miao after staying at the bridegroom's home for twelve days:—

"Took Rosie to see a bride returning to her mother's home. A group of seven or eight young women dressed in their best, and with flags made of red and green paper, were waiting on a little hill for her arrival. After waiting a long time, we saw the bridal party approaching. First came three men, and then six men carrying three slaughtered pigs on poles. One man carried two large baskets of cotton swinging on a pole, and another man carried four jackets and four skirts in the same way. The bride wore a crown, a magnificent piece of workmanship—ribbons, birds, flowers, and filigree work, all made of silver. Around her neck she had seven silver necklets, some large and solid looking and some very prettily worked. She had also seven or eight bracelets on each arm, and silver spangles all over that part of the jacket that was not embroidered. She also wore a richly embroidered skirt. Mrs. P'an told me the dress and silver ornaments were worth at least one hundred and thirty Mexican dollars.

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

When she came in sight the young women and some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

584 fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly 584 with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words. 833 This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittal. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

584 Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

585 The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even cocrcion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.

& Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

581 181 There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni l ʌ u GʌuBi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

585 Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

847 848 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

778 Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, a[illegible] hunters will be successful in the
[755] killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .n of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally
776 made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as
782 deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means original demon.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 769 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 585 782 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ɔ̃ɛ ntsʻai ɔ̃ɛ ɬau, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

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To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *kʻai chang* 開場 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no- ɔ̃in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xAu lo- xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo- Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ɔ̃ɛ gi- (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 When we were escorting the bride here, we rode mules. When we came, our daughter came also to the home of you old people here. Let the bride and the groom eat food from one bowl (to denote harmony) and drink water and wine from one cup. When our daughter comes to you here, we will commemorate the lives (souls) of her parents. XAU lo-xai.

We will make offerings to the life of the house, the life (or soul) in the field, the soul (life) of our lives, the life of the earth, the lives of the bride's ancestors, the life of the ridge, the life of the bend, the life of the seed, the life of the rear of the house, and these lives will come together to eat meat, and together will drink wine.

We will make offerings to the life of the garden, of the front door, of the smaller (side) doors, of the looms, and they will all come together. XAu lo xai. We came halfway and we made offerings to the life of the half-way road. We came through nine bends and made offerings to the lives of the nine bends. We came past the ten bends and there were ten dragons' lives. We made offerings to the ten dragons' lives so they could eat meat. We made offerings to the life of the fogstreaks along the mountain-side so it would come and drink wine and drink it through its lips onto its tongue. When you have drunk, give some to the crazy people along the road (so they will not come). When you have eaten and drunk, you must go and watch the house for the bride's relatives. Come you all, XAu lo xai.

We have come to your home and have escorted the bride to see her father and mother-in-law. After three mornings we will take her back to see her father and mother. We have escorted the girl to the home of you old folks. If your meat is good, bring a bowlful. If your wine is good, bring a cupful.

The meat has come but we have not yet eaten it. Wine has come but we have not drunk it. We will turn the spoon over and offer (some wine). We will make offerings to you people here (your lives). We will make offerings to the life of your house, or the rear of the house, the rice-field, the earth, the bed, your ancestors, the front door, the side door, the yard gate, the looms, so they will all come together and eat meat and drink wine. When we have made the offering you come and live with us. Tomorrow, be companions with us, XAu lo xai.

We have come to escort the girl here. When we return, you husband and wife, drink wine out of one cup and eat rice out of the same bowl. When you two go together to farm, let the son work on the farm outside and the girl at home. When the son has worked on the farm and returns, his body will be dirty from clay and the bride will come out and speak jokingly and laugh. XAu lo xai.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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May you (bride and groom) in the future have plenty to eat and when you speak have results, and when others see you, may they praise you.

Once a man and his wife made a clearing. When they did it stirred the mind of lo ʒwAn (a very distant family). They began to cut down the deep forest and it disturbed lo ʒwAn's liver. They cut down a narrow piece of land and came to climb that mountain.

In the spring the weather was hot and the place was also hot. The sky was very dry. The earth was also very dry. The man took fire and burnt the mountain. The woman also lighted a fire and went with him to burn the mountain. They burnt on both sides as far as the bottom of the mountain. Then the man and the woman came back to sleep. They slept until next morning and the man took the seed and put it into the seam of his garment. The woman also took pumpkin seeds and rice seeds and put them inside a cloth. Then the man scattered three handfuls on the edge of the field and when it grew up it was like brambles. The woman sowed three handfuls in the ground. When it grew up, it was as deep as bitter bamboo. The man also scattered three handfuls on the pass. It grew up like bamboo. The woman sowed three handfuls on the ridge. When it grew up it was like bamboo limbs. The heads of grain were like *kao liang*. Its stalks were like bamboo. A big wind blew which was not good. It blew down the grain as though a person had pushed it over in a pile. The stalks fell down near an artificial terrace. The man could carry only three sheaves. The woman could carry only three stalks. The man carried it to his home. The woman carried it only half-day. Because the woman could not carry, when she had gone half-way she began scolding. The man carried enough to fill up nine rooms. The woman carried enough to fill up nine small lofts. The husband and his wife now had enough to eat. tao ʒAn praised them. The two now had enough to eat and to wear. The Miao ʒAn praised them.

The wife was standing in the door of her bedroom. The man stood in his golden door. (Probably this is poetical). The mother had nine daughters. The husband had ten sons. The older brother was without a name and they named him ʒɛ fu (old person happiness). The second oldest was named ʒɛ gy. When the oldest brother grew up, he walked through the door of the heavenly well very happily. When the younger brother went through that door he carried a plow beam on his shoulders.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 There was a third son who was named ʐ̄ɛ i lʌn (old one left side). The next younger was named ʐɛ i lʌn.

When the oldest brother went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to sing. When the next older went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to play the *liu shêng*. The oldest brother sang songs like the singing of orioles. The next younger brother played the *liu shêng* like the singing of the red bird.

The mother had nine daughters and could not find enough names for them. She named the second one Ma ntso (sister able at weaving). She named the oldest sister ma mba s...r silk). The second oldest sister went out of the heavenly well door and remembered to work at the loom. The oldest sister went through the door of the heavenly well and remembered to work the wheel to wind thread. When she trod the wheel it resounded. When the loom (turned) it sounded as though laughing.

The mother had nine daughters. The father had ten sons. Another daughter was named ma$^{.5}$ mao^{2} (cat). An older sister was named ma$^{.5}$ mbai^{2} (cousin). When the younger sister went out of the door (in the morning when they went out of the sleeping-rooms) of the heavenly well, she remembered and made embroidery. When the older sister went out of the door of the heavenly well, she remembered to dye flowery skirts.

The mother had nine daughters, the father ten sons. An older brother had no name. He was named ʐ̄ɛ gʌu. The younger brother was named ʐɛ gʌu gʌn. The older brother, when he went out, did not discuss people's daughters. When the younger brother went out, he did not discuss people's wives. When the older brother went out, he wanted to find money to use in engaging a wife. When the younger brother went also, he also wanted to find money with which to engage a wife.

There was another older brother who was named ʐ̄ɛ la$^{.}$ (happy). There was another younger brother whom they named ʐ̄ɛ lo$^{.}$ (big). When the older brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell pigs. When the younger brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell cattle. The older brother drove the younger brother's cows to the city Wu Chiu. The younger brother drove some pigs to Chengtu. The older brother gained enough silver to fill up a big bag. The younger brother sold the pigs and made enough gold to fill a big bag. The older brother could not

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carry all his silver. The younger had silver and helped his older brother carry some silver. The older brother used his silver to buy an old rice-field. The field that the older brother bought had its boundaries on the pass.. That boundary, if a Chinese came, even he could not take away.

The field that the younger brother (bought) had a boundary on the ridge. If the Lolos came, even they could not take it away. Let the sons of the Lolos come to contest the boundary and we will spank them with a board, (disrespectful joking).

A Chinese came and struggled for the field that the younger brother bought. The younger brother used bamboo slats and spanked the Chinese.

The older brother erected a house with his silver. He would not talk much. He hid his silver under the tiles of his house.

The younger erected a house with his gold. He hid his gold under some tile and covered it up.

The older brother's house (which he built) he ornamented with images on the roof, and they pointed towards Suifu.

The house the younger brother lived in had four wings (like birds) and they pointed towards Shang Ling.

When the older brother went out of his heavenly well, he was like a good official in the city. When the younger brother came out of his house (heavenly well) he was like an older son of an emperor.

The older brother had a big mother cat. Her kittens were all males.

The younger raised pigs as numerous as the sands. All the young pigs were males.

The water buffaloes came up to the pass. Their calves were all bulls. He raised dogs. The pups were all males.

If you raise chickens, you need fine sand. The chicks hatched were all males. The ducks were in the bamboo grove. The rats in the house were a big band in front of the fire-grate.

xau lo xai.

If I make offerings to the ancestors, I have no foundation. I have delayed you old people who sat and waited for things to eat to come and they (edibles) did not come. I have no foundation for offering domestic animals. I have delayed you, a band of old people, for you have seen things but you could not get them to eat. You couldn't even taste the wine. xau lo xai.'

[10 cont.]

591 practiced by one tribe and then followed by others for so long a time that at last it was firmly established. There are only a few couples who are separated. In such cases, they would participate 587 in moon dance, chasing the moon, yao-ma-lang or kan-piao, and other such agencies of free love to seek their mate for a second marriage.

584 When a boy reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen the [582] parents usually negotiate marriage for him. First, a friend or a relative is asked to approach a girl's family to propose marriage. When the latter family approves, the go-between would bring the boy and his parents over for an interview. If both sides are satisfied, they then start negotiations of gifts and dowry and make arrangements for the engagement. If one side is not satisfied the matter is dropped. This refers to total strangers: between those who are acquainted with each other such arrangements are unnecessary. 583 In the old days the gift and dowry were given in terms of the number of cows instead of money. Recently, they have been changed to silver pieces, and the larger the amount, the more magnificent it is for the girl's family. If the amount is small then the girl's status is considered low and it becomes a disgrace to the family. When the question of the bride price is settled (with the Hua Miao the highest gift comes to $100 or more) the go-between appoints a date to convey it to the girl's family. Accepting the gift, the family gives a feast, in which friends and relatives are invited to keep the go-between company and to regale him with meat and wine. This is the engagement. Before the wedding day, the gift donation must be fully paid up through the go-between; but if the girl's family is fond of the future son-in-law, half or all the bride price may be waived. On the wedding day the bridegroom's family sends along 585 a man and a woman to welcome the bride, and sometimes the groom goes there himself. (But the groom must provide meat and wine as a welcome home feast.) The bride's parents would ask a few young girls to keep the bride company the night before, and before daybreak the party would commence the wedding march, the bride shaded under a bridal parasol. On arrival at the groom's house, the members of the party have to leap across

[10 cont.]
585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight, 591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first 852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would 431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. [804] Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

764 2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I [755] groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[20 cont.] (According to the Miao custom a girl should marry a
583 cousin on the mother's side, and if she is to marry somebody
584 else, she has to give money to her maternal uncle. This money
[582] is called "niece's cash.") The girl's family would then give a feast in honor of the go-between and invite other guests to keep him company.

585 [21] Marriages generally take place during the winter harvest in the second lunar month or the autumn harvest in the tenth lunar month. At that time the groom's family will again despatch three or four young men to the bride's family, carrying nine catties of pork, a package of glutinous rice weighing about two or three catties together with the cash gift negotiated at the time of the engagement. Announcement will also be made of the date for receiving the bride (about twenty days away on a horse day or a cow day). The return gift from the girl's family at the time consists only of a package of glutinous rice and a duck. But on the wedding day the bride's family has to despatch two men early in the morning to send over to the groom's family a slaughtered pig of about fifty to sixty catties and two big baskets, approximately four pecks, of glutinous rice to herald the arrival of the bride. At the wedding march the bride is arrayed in a flowered dress, holding in her hand the flowered parasol, sent previously by the groom's family, and accompanied by eleven male and female relatives. But halfway six of them must retract their steps because grown-up girls may not visit the groom. Among the other five, one young woman acts as the bride's maid and always keeps her company. The groom's family also despatches men to carry wine and rice to meet the bridal party halfway. When the two groups meet they picnic in the field. After this the bride and her kinsmen are conducted to the groom's family.

The bridal chamber is not so well decorated as that of the
[352] Chinese, and the furniture in the room is simple and plain. Except for one or two chests of drawers for the bride's clothes which come as a part of the dowry, the rest is provided by the groom and consists of a bed, a few stools, a wooden face-basin and a foot-basin. Quilts, pillows and mat are also provided by the groom's family. That day the celebration consists of singing

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every
591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable
583 of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before
591 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages
[584] among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

Mi Lo 585 /57 cont'd/

1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782 After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece Mo 582 292 of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 585 /60 cont'd/ of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the iang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

Mi [585]

1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

Mo 585 This practice is called āgu dzüradzin (āgu, i.e., "paternal aunt," term of respect for women; dzüradzin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 595

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

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found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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[262]

1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

[MIAO]

/86 cont'd/

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

Mi 582

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

584 When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [583] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

585 The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" [787] pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home, where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortege, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

584 to the envoys outside the threshold, it means that the proposal is rejected. If, on the contrary, he invites them to enter, it is a sign that it has been received favorably. In this case the incense sticks are brought into the house and stuck into the ash-bowl of the ancestral altar. The neighbors are invited in and informed of the news, and the happy event is feted by emptying several cups of maize-brandy, while discussing the size of the dowry which should be brought by the young man and the day on which to have the wedding.

The intermediaries return to the fiance's house to inform his father of the result of their negotiations. Shortly after, a celebration is held there to inform relatives and friends of the good news, and the banquet continues for two or three days. Each guest brings the young man a small gift to assist him in paying his dowry, which frequently amountssto 100 piasters, 100 kilos of meat, as much brandy, and about ten chickens.

585 On the day set for the wedding, a procession is formed at the groom's house which /143/ includes at least six men and two women, and they go in procession to the young bride's home, preceded by musicians playing clarinet and flute. The feasting lasts all day long. The following night the dowry is put into the hands of the young woman's father, and on the morning of the next day they start out to return to the home of the young man's father. The bride, dressed in her finest garments, joins the procession, accompanied by relatives and friends, and followed by a servant carrying the small trunk in which her belongings are arranged. She is cheered along the way by the young folks from neighboring hamlets, perched on the rocks which border the paths. Before entering the husband's house, everyone is offered a loving-cup of brandy, which all drink from the neck of the same gourd. The young people prostrate themselves before the ancestral altar. A new feast awaits them, and the roistering continues for another two or three days. When the young man's family cannot meet considerable expense which a wedding imposes under usual conditions, they make a contract with the young woman's family under the terms of which the fiance will go and work in the home of his future father-in-law for two or three years.

When two sweethearts have decided to wed without the consent of their parents, they are compelled to flee the paternal roof, and go and establish a household in a forgotten corner of the mountain. At the end of a certain time they reappear before their parents, and the young man is forgiven by paying an indemnity to his father-in-law.

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Miao AE5

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585 In addition, each individual has a family name. This is changed by girls when they marry for that of the husband.
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553 Differing from my observations, Lajonquière (1) describes

1. II, p. 317.

the name-giving, which, according to him, does not take place until after the end of the confinement: "At the end of this period parents and friends gather in order to bring presents for the child. At the same time, he is given a name, the same one that his grandparents had. Finally, there is the usual eating, drinking, and singing." The statements quoted here have been borrowed verbatim by Abadie (2).

2. Page 165.

A
553 It is much simpler among the Akha. In general, the
844 mother of the woman gives the child its name during the birth
A without further ceremony. There is also sponsorship, however,
608 which is similar to that practiced among the Meau. As among the latter, during the ceremony the child's wrist is likewise joined to the sponsor with a piece of string. Telford (3) gives a

3. Page 103.

somewhat different description and also ascribes a different meaning to the piece of string, as is shown by the following:
A "When children are born among the Kaw (Akha) they slaughter
[553] two chickens, one for the name-giving ceremony and one as
[774] food for the mother and child. Its soul is asked to descend into the body, and strings are tied around its wrists in order to hold the soul fast."

A In giving the name the Akha select the name of a re-
551 cently deceased family member.

/90 cont./

577 836 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend, or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them. They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them." At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversation, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He returned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 [732] [143] For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a female partner is not the social position, but the physical characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristically: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl belonged to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the moment of marriage completely give up their connection with their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand, even though they are not concerned specifically about the social position of the man, there are other significant factors that are not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from this society.

595 833 513 Married people customarily have sexual union at night in their bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives, bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 [152] The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. This often makes the bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of [782] [769] the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until [513] [595] the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nă thǭ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nă yǭ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[214] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps outside the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."

[574] [201]

[114] These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife. This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

[583]

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/102 cont./

184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

/103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,

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1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

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[584]

Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/103 cont./

184 585 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when appropriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's [583] parents demand 'ngön sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals ..., [426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 426 This extending of credit for the purchase price is confirmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by [114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 184 595 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/106 cont./ The
A 585 daughter is provided with new clothing, a beautiful cotton
585 blanket, and a chopping knife for the celebration by her parents;
583 the parents, however, withhold the rich silver ornaments that
[301] she wore as a girl, for it is up to the husband to provide ornaments for his wife. If the bride's parents are wealthy, however, and want to do something more for their daughter, they slaughter a pig, pack the head and the two hind legs in a carrying basket, and give all this to the daughter to take along on the way while the rest of the meat remains in the house of the girl's parents and is eaten there.

A 585 The bride is called for by the emissaries of the bridegroom and is solemnly led to the dwelling of her father-in-law. The union of the young couple does not take place immediately
A [784] after the wedding, but only after thirteen days. A religious
[776] taboo is involved here, and the Akha believe that if it is
[343] violated the spirits would take revenge. After this period the
[591] young couple meet at night in a small house built for this purpose in the vicinity of the large dwelling house. During the day, however, the young people stay in the house of the father of the young husband, in whose community they live.

A [837] After the wedding no other man but the husband has any rights whatever to the wife with regard to sex.

A 595 /107/ Among the Akha, too, poor people are usually monogamous; only chiefs or very wealthy men keep several
[554] wives, five or six at the most. Polygamy therefore likewise
[583] prevails among the Akha. Other forms of marriage, such as
[837] trial or temporary marriage, polyandry or group marriage, as well as promiscuity in marriage, are unknown.

M 593 Among the Akha as well as among the Meau the wife is the property of the husband. No marriage contract is concluded,
● [585] and no other rights are guaranteed to her. The husband can even beat his wife, but my informant cautiously added to this
A [593] information: "If she will stand for it." I learned among the Meau that this is by no means an empty phrase. One day a
M [123] young, strong woman about twenty-two years old, with whom we had become friends, came weeping into our camp. She

/126 cont./

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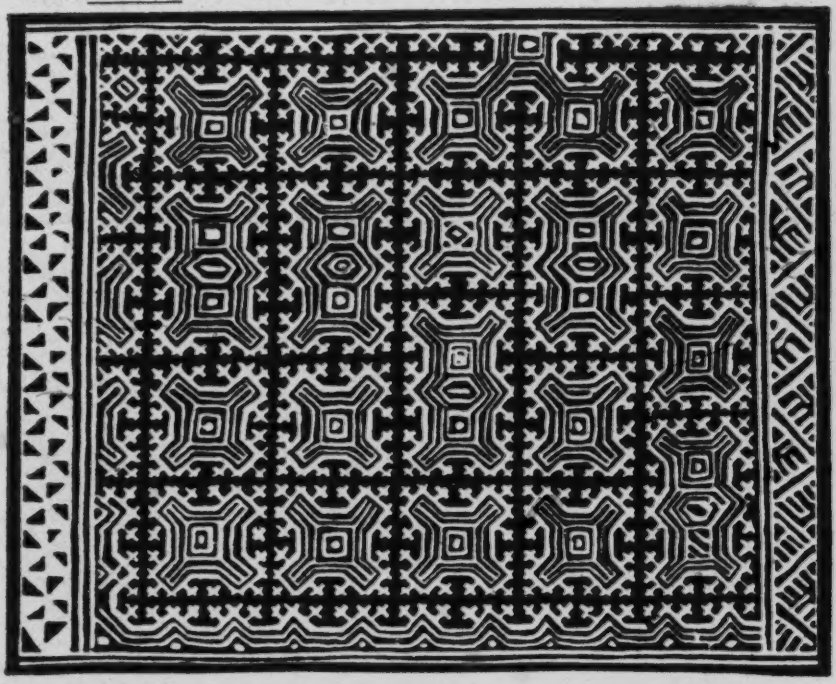

Fig. 9. Batik design of the Meau in the positive, after the dyeing. 1/3 nat. size.

"The art of embroidery is developed to a perfection that one would not expect among these tribes that are otherwise quite primitive. Young girls practice this intricate art from childhood and make all the pieces of their so richly adorned wedding costume themselves."

[585]
[292]

Lajonquière (2), too, writes about the art of wax painting,

2. II, p. 303.

namely, batik, and about the color combinations: "The colors that /127/ /Figs. 10 and 11 appear hare/ /128/ /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ /129/ are used the most are blue, red, and green,

[text continues on p. 179 - Analyst]